

# **Race and Record: A Study of Juvenile Referrals in Alaska**

by

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The disproportionate representation of minorities in the justice systems of the United States has been viewed with growing alarm by both researchers and policy makers. Studies of the problem tend to focus on African Americans and on the end points of the process—sentencing disparities and, especially, sentences to death at the adult level (e.g., Heilbraun, et al., 1989; Radelet & Pierce, 1991; and others) and on court outcomes and detention decisions at the juvenile level (e.g. McGarrell, 1993). Some researchers have noted that decisions at the end points are influenced by decisions at earlier points in the process (e.g., Feyerheim, 1995; Bishop & Frazier, 1996; and others). There is also a body of literature which suggests that prior record is very closely related to outcome decisions. It is included in virtually all risk assessment instruments used by parole boards, probation departments, etc. (See Hoffman, 1994; Fagan & Guggenheim, 1996; and others.)

The research presented here explores the relationship between race and prior record using juvenile referral data from Alaska white, Alaska Native, and African American youth are compared using four years of statewide data. The research includes in-depth examination of the files of a sample of the juveniles referred to the Alaska juvenile justice system in order to better assess the relationship between race and record.

### **Disproportionality Literature**

Studies which examine the relationship of Native Americans to the justice system constitute a relatively rare, but growing, body of literature. Some of these studies examine the criminality of Native Americans using Uniform Crime Reporting arrest data or Bureau of Indian Affairs data (e.g., Flowers, 1988; Cross, 1982; Harring, 1982). Others examine sentencing and confinement issues in states where Native Americans are the largest minority.

Some studies have compared justice system outcomes for Native Americans and African Americans with those for whites. Using Bureau of Justice Statistics data, Flowers (1988) noted Native Americans have arrest rates second to blacks in all types of crimes except crimes related to liquor law violations.

Studies of disproportionality at the juvenile level usually focus on African American youth. Many studies compare “minority” youth with white youth at a variety of “decision points” in the juvenile justice system. (This research may include Native Americans among the minorities.)

Feyerherm (1995) in a draft report for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention on a five-state pilot study of Disproportionate Minority Confinement (DMC) noted that earlier decision points can have a major impact on confinement and should also be studied for their potential impact on disproportionality.

Because arrest is the entry point for juvenile justice processing, studies which examine arrest are of particular interest, though the arrest *decision* is difficult to assess. Kurtz, et al. (1993) examined the arrest decision by asking police officers at participating counties in Georgia to complete a questionnaire on every male youth they apprehended. The police might release the youth with no charges or file a juvenile complaint. If the latter, the youth was also tracked through intake and judicial-decision making with questionnaires. They found the law enforcement decision (release or continue in process) was related to offense severity and demeanor rather than race, socioeconomic status, or other extralegal factors. (Demeanor may, however, be related to race.)

In their study of police and juveniles, Wordes and Bynum (1995) used a combination of police records, interviews with juvenile officers/detectives, and observation during ride-alongs to explore disproportionality. Using logistic regression to examine the quantitative data, they found race to be significantly associated with certain police decisions, including the decision to refer the youth to court for further processing and decisions to take youth into custody and/or securely detain them.

Some studies of juveniles have found race associated with nearly every decision point in the juvenile justice process. In their report to the Washington (state) legislature, the Juvenile Justice Racial Disproportionality Work Group (1994) noted that minority youth were *less* likely to be arrested than white youth, but were twice as likely to be referred to court by the police, twice as likely to be detained prior to their hearings, less likely to be diverted, 1.5 times more likely to be prosecuted, and four times more likely than white youth to be sentenced to confinement (p. 2).

McGarrell (1993) also examined several decision points and compared white and nonwhite youth using National Juvenile Court data for 1985 and 1989. He found nonwhite youth more likely than white youth to be petitioned to court, to be detained, and to receive a residential disposition.

Bishop and Frazier (1996) used official Florida records from 1985-1987 and interviews with juvenile justice system officials. They used regression analysis to assess the impact of race on several decision points: intake, detention, prosecutor referral, judicial disposition, etc. They

found that race was a factor in the detention decision and, because detention influences judicial dispositions, race had an indirect impact on these decisions.

In a study of minority youth in adult jails in Minnesota, Schwartz, et al. (1988) found that proportionally more Native (8.1%) and black (7.5%) than white youth (3.1%) were detained with adults. Natives were more likely to be jailed for status offenses than either blacks or whites. They examined the duration of the jail stay and found Native youth held significantly longer than whites on all charges except technical violations. For crimes against persons the median hours held was 16.2 for whites and 29.9 for Natives; for property crimes the median was 6.2 for whites, 10.3 for Natives; and for Part II offenses, 4.1 hours for whites and 13.3 hours for Natives.

Using 1986 data from the judicial information system, Feld (1995) studied the processing of juveniles in the largest county in Minnesota. Minority youth (Native Americans and African Americans) constituted about 8.7 percent of the county's youth population but a third (34.0%) of the juvenile court's cases in 1986. He noted the exceptional proportion of Native American youth (40.8%) who appeared in court for status offenses. Feld also found that being Native influenced the detention decision, but only half as much as did being black (he controlled for offense severity and prior record). Race also influenced the decision to confine the juvenile after adjudication.

Leiber (1994) compared Native, black, and white youth. He examined juvenile court referrals over a ten-year period in a county where the proportions of African American and Native American youth were higher than in any other county in Iowa. He examined several decision points and decision outcomes and used regression analysis to determine which of several independent variables impacted these decisions. He found that minority youth received more severe sentences at most stages than did white youth, but Native Americans were treated more leniently than African Americans.

A recent study dealt exclusively with comparing Native American youth to white youth. Poupart (1995) examined juvenile court records from 1985 to 1989 in a rural Wisconsin county with a substantial (7.14%) Native American population. Four decision points were analyzed: intake, detention, filing of a petition, and final disposition. At intake, 62.7 percent of Native American youth were referred to the prosecutor compared with 38.7 percent of white youth. At each additional step in the process, Native youth were likely to experience the more severe outcome.

## **Research on Alaska Natives and the Criminal Justice System**

Studies of Alaska Native youth and the juvenile justice system have also noted disproportionality. In accordance with Feld's (1995) observation about status offenses, Parry (1987) found that 30 percent of statewide Native referrals in 1984 were for alcohol-related offenses. This was compared to 16.9 percent of white referrals. For crimes against persons, Alaska Natives were referred proportionally more than whites but proportionally less than blacks.

Statewide detention data were collected by the Justice Center for the Alaska Division of Family and Youth Services to report on compliance with the mandates of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Two studies using this data were published by the Justice Center. One, which examined data for only one year (1993), found whites associated with 43.2 percent of the instances of detention, Alaska Natives with 30.1 percent, and blacks, 8.5 percent (a considerable variance from their proportion in the general population) (Schafer & Curtis, 1994).

In an analysis of five years of detention data—1989 to 1993—it was noted that 3,393 juveniles were involved in 6,483 instances of detention, an average of 1.91 detentions per youth. This led to an examination of detention frequency which found that nearly two-thirds of the individuals appeared only once in the four-year data set (62.5%). When frequency was assessed by race it was found that 12.9 percent of white youth were detained four or more times compared to 19.0 percent of Alaska Native youth and 17.9 percent of African American youth (Schafer & Curtis, 1995). These repeat appearances in the data set suggested that minorities were more likely to have prior records, a finding which gave impetus to the current research.

## **Research Methodology**

In Alaska all justice services but local law enforcement are centralized at the state level. Juvenile justice services were formerly administered under the aegis of Family and Youth Services, a division of the Alaska Department of Health and Social Services. (There is now a separate Division of Juvenile Justice.) DFYS managed facilities for both the detention and institutionalization of juveniles as well as juvenile probation and aftercare. The Division made four years of data from its statewide case management system (PROBER) available for analysis. The data set used included all referrals of juveniles to DFYS in 1992, 1993, 1994, and 1995. Only the three largest racial groups were being compared, so referrals associated with other racial groups were eliminated from the analysis, as were referrals where race was unknown. The final

sample consisted of 14,145 white, Alaska Native, and African American youth; they were responsible for 28,618 referrals – an average of two referrals per youth in the data set.

Both demographic and legal data are available in PROBER. The legal variables included offense (reason for referral) and prior record as well as intake and court outcomes. Race, age, and gender as well as location of the referral incident were included among the demographic variables. Locations were categorized into DFYS administrative regions (Northern, Southcentral, and Southeast) with major cities (Anchorage and Fairbanks) removed for separate analysis. It should be noted that the city of Anchorage holds nearly half of the entire population of the state and thus can skew the results for its region and for the state as a whole. It should also be noted that 93.4 percent of referrals of African American youth occurred in either Anchorage (74.7%) or Fairbanks (18.7%).

From this large data set a sample of youth from each of the three racial groups was selected for in-depth examination. Because DFYS is concerned with disproportionate minority representation, they provided access to the files of 112 youth: 40 white youth, 35 Alaska Native youth, and 37 African American youth.

The racial distribution of the 28,618 referrals made is shown in Table 1: 9,052 referrals were associated with Alaska Native youth (31.6%), 2,502 with African American youth (8.7%), and 17,064 with white youth (59.6%). Only 27.4 percent were associated with females (N=7,849). (See Table 1.)

**Table 1. Referrals -- Demographics, 1992-1995**

		Number of people referred		Number of referrals		Mean referrals per person
		N	%	N	%	
Gender						
	Male	9,547	67.5 %	20,769	72.6 %	2.18
	Female	4,598	32.5	7,849	27.4	1.71
Race						
	Alaska Native	3,726	26.3 %	9,052	31.6 %	2.43
	African American	1,051	7.4	2,502	8.7	2.38
	White	9,368	66.2	17,064	59.6	1.82
	Total	14,145		28,618		2.03

The proportions of people shown in Table 1 differ considerably from the proportions of referrals for both gender and race. Females comprised 32.5 percent of all youth referred, while only 27.4 percent of the referrals were associated with females. Computing mean number of referrals by race, we found minority youth with a significantly higher mean than white youth: the

mean number of referrals for Alaska Native youth was 2.43; for African American youth, 2.38; and for white youth, 1.82.

Referrals were also examined by year. The number of referrals increased steadily over the four-year period from 6,446 in 1992 to 7,934 in 1995 (a 23% increase). It is interesting to note that both personal and property offense referrals dropped between 1994 and 1995 for all three racial groups while referrals for public order offenses increased for all three groups.

For each year, Alaska Natives comprise approximately 23 percent of the general population of 10 to 17-year-olds and 31 to 32 percent of referrals, while African Americans comprised about 5 percent of the total population and nearly 9 percent of referrals.

The data include the most serious charge at referral. These have been categorized as offenses against persons, offenses against property, offenses against the public order, and “other” crimes which seem not to fit any precise category. (Both drug and alcohol offenses are included in the public order category.)

A number of highly publicized murders have contributed to the perception that young people in Alaska are becoming more and more violent. In the four-year data set there were 4,078 referrals for crimes against persons. For the crimes of first degree murder, second degree murder, manslaughter, and criminally negligent homicide there were a total of 40 referrals—less than a tenth of one percent of the total. The majority of the violent crimes were for misdemeanor assault. It seems inappropriate to compare first degree murder with misdemeanor assault, so much of the subsequent analysis of crimes against persons in this paper is restricted to those referrals where the most serious charge was assault in the fourth degree. These were 61 percent of all referrals in the violent category (N=2,481).

Referrals in the other categories were also selected out for analysis: burglary in the first and second degrees, criminal mischief, and misdemeanor theft (theft in the third and fourth degree) were selected from the property crime category and, from the public order category, possession/consumption of alcohol (4,217 referrals), and misconduct involving a controlled substance (894 referrals). (This last is a small category but it is of interest because of a growing perception that drug use is a problem among young people.) Since these offenses have specific definitions, this selection process controls for offense severity.

This subsample of referrals was associated 6,269 times with Alaska Natives, 1,546 times with African Americans, and 11,458 times with white youth, for a total of 19,273 referrals—a number adequate for most types of analysis.

Through the four-year period, there were 880 referrals for assault in the fourth degree attributed to Alaska Natives (35.5% of all fourth degree assault referrals), 304 referrals associated with African Americans (12.3%), and 1,297 referrals associated with white youth (52.3%) (see Table 2). Since Alaska Natives constitute approximately 23 percent of all Alaska youth in the 10 to 17-year-old population group, they are clearly overrepresented in the assault category, as are African American youth, who are slightly more than 5 percent of the total youth population.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 2. Referral Distribution Across Primary Racial Groups, 1992-1995**

*Row percentages.*

	<b>Alaska Native</b>		<b>African American</b>		<b>White</b>		<b>Total referrals</b>
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
<b>Offenses against persons</b>	<b>1,398</b>	<b>34.3 %</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>12.2 %</b>	<b>2,182</b>	<b>53.5 %</b>	<b>4,078</b>
Assault 4	880	35.5	304	12.3	1,297	52.3	2,481
<b>Offenses against property</b>	<b>4,082</b>	<b>26.0 %</b>	<b>1,466</b>	<b>9.3 %</b>	<b>10,170</b>	<b>64.7 %</b>	<b>15,718</b>
Burglary	934	37.3	152	6.1	1,418	56.6	2,504
Criminal mischief 3 & 4	825	31.2	259	9.8	1,557	59.0	2,641
Theft 3 & 4	1,162	17.8	751	11.5	4,623	70.7	6,536
<b>Public order offenses</b>	<b>2,838</b>	<b>43.5 %</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>3.9 %</b>	<b>3,427</b>	<b>52.6 %</b>	<b>6,517</b>
Possession/consumption of alcohol	2,297	54.5	34	0.8	1,886	44.7	4,217
Misconduct w/ controlled substances	175	19.5	46	5.1	677	75.4	898
<b>Other offenses</b>	<b>734</b>	<b>31.8 %</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>12.4 %</b>	<b>1,285</b>	<b>55.7 %</b>	<b>2,305</b>
<b>Total referrals</b>	<b>9,052</b>	<b>31.6 %</b>	<b>2,502</b>	<b>8.7 %</b>	<b>17,064</b>	<b>59.6 %</b>	<b>28,618</b>

Among property offenses we chose to analyze one felony — burglary in the first or second degree — and two misdemeanors — criminal mischief and theft in the third and fourth degree. For the three property crimes, Natives are overrepresented in the first two and, for theft, represented slightly under their proportion in the general population. Theft is the only referral offense for which white youth were referred in proportions which approximated their percentage in the youth population.

Table 2 shows that the referral offense for which Natives are referred in greater *numbers* than any other ethnic group is possession/consumption of alcohol. Almost 55 percent of all referrals

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<sup>1</sup> Among incarcerated adults in Alaska, Alaska Natives are over-represented among sex offenders. According to a recent study (Mander, et al., 1996), 38.0 percent of inmates in the sex offender program were Alaska Natives. This appears also to be true of Alaska Native youth. Referrals for sexual assault and sexual abuse of a minor (all degrees of severity) constituted only 15.7 percent of all offenses against persons for the full data set (N=642). The proportion of these referrals that was associated with Alaska Native youth is considerably greater than their proportion in the general population and than their proportion among all referrals (41.9%). More than 60 percent of their 268 referrals were from the northern region of DFYS, where the proportion of the at-risk population is 43.2 percent Alaska Native. Referrals for sex offenses do not show a pattern. Statewide numbers were highest in 1994 and lowest in 1995, when the 138 referrals represented a 25 percent drop from 184 in the previous year.



for this behavior are attributed to Alaska Native youth. This behavior represents more than one-third of all Native referrals for our selected offenses (36.6%).

Referral outcomes for all events in the data set were assessed. For this study, intake decisions were categorized into three possible outcomes: dismissal, adjustment (including informal probation), and petition (to court for adjudication).

Regression analysis was used to identify the factors related to intake decisions. Selected offenses were used in the analysis to control for offense severity. Misdemeanor assault, for example, comprised 60 percent of all crimes against persons in the data set and was used in the regression analysis along with burglary, criminal mischief in the third and fourth degrees, and misdemeanor theft. Together these last offenses comprised more than 70 percent of all property offenses. Possession/consumption of alcohol were also included because of the large number of referrals for this behavior.

The intake decision to petition the juvenile to court was assessed for each offense: the factors simultaneously entered into logistic regression equations were gender, race, prior record, age, and referral year. For every offense, prior record was significantly related to the decision to petition the youth and for three of these offenses being black was significant as well.

These analyses were event-based, not person-based. In order to assess individuals in the set, a person-based sample was extracted from PROBER using case numbers and dates of birth. The sample of individuals consisted of 11,799 youth, 34.3 percent of whom were female (N=4,048) and 65.7 percent of whom were male (N=7,751). The sample displayed the following racial mix: Alaska Native, 2,882 (24.4%), African American, 873 (7.4%), and white, 8,044 (68.2%) (Table 3). This breakdown approximates that of the population of 10 to 17 year-olds in the general population, but does show some disproportionality, particularly for African Americans. (For the four years under study Department of Education data shows Alaska Natives to be 22.5 to 23.4 percent of the population; African Americans, 4.7 to 5.3 percent; and white youth, 71.5 to 72.7 percent.)

Fewer than 20 percent of the sample were under 13 at their first referral (17.0%). The largest groups were 14, 15, and 16-year-olds who constituted respectively 17.7 percent, 17.7 percent, and 17.5 percent of the sample. The mean age of the 11,799 youth was 14.93—nearly 15 years. Alaska Natives had the youngest mean age—14.66 years. African Americans were nearly as young (14.71 years) and whites were the oldest (15.05 years).

**Table 3. Distribution of Persons, Age, and Referrals  
by Race and Sex, 1992-1995**

	Number of people referred		Mean age at first referral	Mean number of referrals	Total number of referrals	
	N	%			N	%
<b>Alaska Native</b>	<b>2,882</b>	<b>24.4 %</b>	<b>14.66</b>	<b>2.10</b>	<b>6,045</b>	<b>28.3 %</b>
Male	1,827	63.4	14.56	2.22	4,048	67.0
Female	1,055	36.6	14.84	1.89	1,997	33.0
<b>African American</b>	<b>873</b>	<b>7.4 %</b>	<b>14.71</b>	<b>2.10</b>	<b>1,788</b>	<b>8.4 %</b>
Male	576	66.0	14.71	2.05	1,341	75.0
Female	297	34.0	14.71	1.51	447	25.0
<b>White</b>	<b>8,044</b>	<b>68.2 %</b>	<b>15.05</b>	<b>1.68</b>	<b>13,527</b>	<b>63.3 %</b>
Male	5,348	66.5	15.06	1.79	9,579	70.8
Female	2,696	33.5	15.03	1.46	3,948	29.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,799</b>		<b>14.93</b>	<b>1.81</b>	<b>21,360</b>	

Column percentages.

The location of the youth's first referral in the data base was of some interest since there is some variation among regions. Well above a third were first referred in Anchorage (38.5%), but when we examined mean number of referrals per person, Anchorage had the lowest mean. We examined total number of referrals by race by location of first referral and found significant differences. In every location the mean number of referrals was higher for Alaska Natives than for either African Americans or white youth (although black youth were not greatly different). This held true both in areas where the population was 80 percent Native and regions where they are a very small proportion. Southeast Alaska had the highest mean number of referrals for both Native (2.39 referrals) and black youth (2.24 referrals).

The 11,799 youth in the redefined sample were responsible for 21,360 referrals, an average of 1.8 referrals for each individual in the sample. Slightly more than two thirds of the juveniles appeared only once in the data set (N=7,881). The remainder were responsible for two to eighteen referrals. Only 798 youth were referred five or more times; only 116 had ten or more referrals apiece, but these 116 were responsible for 1,386 referrals. When we examined number of referrals by race we found that 71.1 percent of those youth who appeared only once in the data set were white while 21.7 percent were Alaska Native and 7.2 percent were African American. As the number of referrals increased, the percentage of white youth responsible for them decreased while the proportion of minority youth increased. At the five-referral level, 38.9 percent were attributed to Native youth, 53.1 percent to Caucasian youth, and 7.9 percent to black youth. At ten referrals we find 32.4 percent Native, 11.8 percent black and 55.9 percent white.

The mean number of referrals by race illustrates the entry into the system of more minorities. The mean number of referrals of Alaska Native youth was 2.10; of African American youth, 2.05; and of Caucasian youth, 1.68.

An examination of the relationship of numerous referrals (prior record) to the decisions at intake and by the courts was possible with this data. A complete referral history was available for every individual because we confined our sample only to those youth with no prior record noted at their first appearance in the data set. We therefore assessed these decisions by mean number of prior referrals. If juvenile justice decisions are based on referral histories and minorities average more referrals than whites, then the disproportionality we have noted may not be amenable to change by changing system policies.

At intake the mean number of prior referrals for youth whose most recent case resulted in dismissal was 0.83; for those whose cases were adjusted, 0.53; and for those whose most recent referral resulted in a petition, 2.68. These numbers clearly suggest that prior record is a factor in the decision to petition at intake.

The mean number of prior referrals by race and decision point is shown in Table 4. We used the decision made at the last referral in the data base and computed the mean number of prior referrals in the data. At both decision points, intake and court, the most severe outcome for all racial groups was tied to prior record. It is interesting that the court's decision to dismiss—the least severe outcome—also appeared to be positively related to prior record.

**Table 4. Priors at Last Intake Decision and Court Decision, 1992-1995**

Mean number of prior referrals by race and type of decision.

	<b>Dismissal</b>		<b>Adjustment</b>		<b>Petition</b>	
	Mean # of		Mean # of		Mean # of	
	N	prior referrals	N	prior referrals	N	prior referrals
<b>Final intake decision</b>						
Alaska Natives	213	0.99	2,270	0.79	387	2.88
African Americans	103	0.82	641	0.58	119	3.65
Caucasians	627	0.78	6,478	0.44	812	2.45
	<b>Dismissal</b>		<b>Diversion</b>		<b>Adjudication</b>	
	Mean # of		Mean # of		Mean # of	
	N	prior referrals	N	prior referrals	N	prior referrals
<b>Final court decision</b>						
Alaska Natives	87	3.11	97	1.42	203	3.48
African Americans	32	2.63	7	0.86	80	4.30
Caucasians	148	2.46	127	1.17	519	2.70

Because these results included all cases, we did the same analyses, controlling for offense severity. (See Table 5.) We found prior record related to severity of outcome for most of the selected offenses as well. The mean number of prior referrals for youth whose most recent referral for misdemeanor assault was petitioned was 2.61. The mean number of referrals for youth whose assault cases were dismissed was 0.72,, and for adjustment the mean number of priors was 0.73. For each of the selected crimes it appears that a petition to court was predicated on a limit in tolerance, with those who appeared many times at intake finally being petitioned.

**Table 5. Petition Decisions, 1992-1995**

Mean number of prior referrals by race and selected offense.

	<b>Alaska Native</b>		<b>African American</b>		<b>White</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	N	Mean # of prior referrals	N	Mean # of prior referrals	N	Mean # of prior referrals	N	Mean # of prior referrals
Assault 4	32	3.28	14	3.29	53	2.02	99	2.61
Burglary	84	2.18	7	2.29	120	1.47	211	1.78
Criminal mischief 3 & 4	16	3.06	7	4.57	54	2.54	77	2.83
Theft 3 & 4	12	4.58	3	2.67	46	2.85	61	3.18
Possession/consumption of alcohol	17	4.06	0	0.00	24	3.25	41	3.59
Disconduct w/ controlled substances	13	4.69	3	0.00	23	2.70	39	3.15

Because minority youth were more likely than white youth to accumulate a referral record, a sample of youth from each of the three races was selected for an in-depth assessment of referral histories.

## Referral Histories

The files of 112 youth were examined and field notes assessed. The details of each arrest report/referral were noted, as well as intake officer notes about the offender and his or her family and about general attitudes during interviews. Some of the files were lengthy and reflected contacts with child protection agencies as well as youth corrections; others contained minimal information. The contents of some files were transcribed in ten minutes; some took two or three hours. Some of the files were very carefully organized; others were not.

The sample of 112 delinquent youth consisted of 40 females and 72 males. Within racial groups, there were 18 white females and 22 white males, 10 Native females and 25 Native males, and 9 black females and 28 black males. The mean age of all youth at the time of their first referral was 14.49 years, with African American youth slightly older than white youth and Alaska Native youth slightly younger.

The files were examined for both legal and extra-legal factors which might contribute to an explanation of racial differentials in referrals. The legal data included charge at initial referral and number of referrals. The non-legal data included family and school information, location of referrals, and alcohol involvement. Aggregate data about the sample of youth are presented first; then we examine individual files in an effort to explain some of the differences noted in the data analysis.

The youth were referred for a variety of behaviors, which we have categorized for ease of presentation. In Table 6, the charge at first referral is listed. Where multiple charges were listed in arrest reports, the most serious charge was used. Sixteen of the youth (14.3%) were referred on charges of offenses against persons. These sixteen included one referral for assault in the third degree and one referral for sexual abuse of a minor in the third degree. The remaining 14 were charged with fourth degree assault—the least serious misdemeanor assault charge.

**Table 6. Charge at First Referral by Race**

*Column percentages.*

	<b>Alaska Native</b>		<b>African American</b>		<b>White</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Offenses against persons	4	11.4 %	9	24.3 %	3	7.5 %	16	14.3 %
Burglary	6	17.1	4	10.8	4	10.0	14	12.5
Criminal mischief	4	11.4	8	21.6	4	10.0	16	14.3
Theft 3 & 4	12	34.3	16	43.2	19	47.5	47	42.0
Possession/consumption of alcohol	8	22.9	0	0.0	7	17.5	15	13.4
Misconduct w/ controlled substances	1	2.9	0	0.0	3	7.5	4	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>		<b>37</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>112</b>	

Burglary was the only felony charge among all 112 first referrals. Fourteen youth were referred for burglary: four for burglary in the first degree, ten for burglary second. Three of the first degree burglary referrals were accounted for by African American youth.

Not surprisingly, theft accounted for the largest portion of all first referrals (42%). These included one count of second degree theft (a black juvenile), seven referrals for theft in the third degree, and 38 for theft in the fourth degree.

Fifteen youth (13.4% of the total) were first referred to DFYS on a charge involving possession/consumption of alcohol. These referrals were accounted for by seven white youth and eight Native youth. None of our sample of African American youth was referred for drinking on his or her first appearance in the data.

Only four of the juveniles in this sample were initially referred for misconduct involving a controlled substance: two in the fourth degree, and one each in the fifth and sixth degrees.

A substantial proportion (37.5%) of the 112 juveniles had been referred only once. Half of those referred just once were white (N=21), while 14.3 percent were Alaska Native (N=6) and 35.6 percent were African American (N=15). Multiple referrals (five or more) were most likely to be accumulated by Alaska Native youth. They were more than half of all youth in this category (54.5%), while white youth were only 12.5 percent and African American youth 37.0 percent. These figures appear in Table 7, which also includes a breakdown by gender. Girls accounted for nearly half (45.9%) of all those referred two to four times, more than one third of those referred only once and just about one-fourth of the youth with at least five referrals (24.2%). More than two-thirds of girls with more than one referral were minority (68.0%), while 60 percent of girls with only one referral were white. Table 7 shows that half of white youth in the sample had only one referral, while half of Native youth had at least five. Black youth were less likely than white youth to have only one referral and also less likely than Native youth to accumulate five or more.

**Table 7. Number of Referrals by Race and Gender**

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Alaska Native</b>						
1 referral	5	22.7 %	1	7.7 %	<b>6</b>	<b>17.1 %</b>
2 to 4 referrals	5	22.7	6	46.2	<b>11</b>	<b>31.4</b>
5 or more referrals	12	54.5	6	46.2	<b>18</b>	<b>51.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>13</b>		<b>35</b>	
<b>African American</b>						
1 referral	10	37.0 %	5	50.0 %	<b>15</b>	<b>40.5 %</b>
2 to 4 referrals	7	25.9	5	50.0	<b>12</b>	<b>32.4</b>
5 or more referrals	10	37.0	0	0.0	<b>10</b>	<b>27.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>37</b>	
<b>White</b>						
1 referral	12	52.2 %	9	52.9 %	<b>21</b>	<b>52.5 %</b>
2 to 4 referrals	8	34.8	6	35.3	<b>14</b>	<b>35.0</b>
5 or more referrals	3	13.0	2	11.8	<b>5</b>	<b>12.5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>		<b>17</b>		<b>40</b>	
<b>Total</b>						
1 referral	27	37.5 %	15	37.5 %	<b>42</b>	<b>37.5 %</b>
2 to 4 referrals	20	27.8	17	42.5	<b>37</b>	<b>33.0</b>
5 or more referrals	25	34.7	8	20.0	<b>33</b>	<b>29.5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>112</b>	

Because family is a special interest among juvenile delinquency researchers, family information was assessed with some care. Some files had *no* information about families. An assumption was made that where family information was missing it was primarily in the files of youth referred only once. This proved for the most part to be so. Of 18 files with no information on families, 12 were the files of youth with only one referral. For three of the files missing information was noted in the files themselves. These three involved youth referred at least five

times; two were files of Alaska Native males; one was the file of a white male. The three additional files lacking family information were those of Alaska Native females who had two or three referrals in their files.

We examined the availability of family information by race and found this information available for 72.5 percent of white youth (N=29), for 85.7 percent of Native youth (N=30), and for 94.6 percent of black youth (N=35). Intake personnel seemed to be more likely to include in the file family data about minority youth than about white youth.

For those for whom data were available, white youth were considerably more likely than minority youth to live with both biological parents. More than half of those who lived with both biological parents were white (53.6%) (Alaska Natives were 23.1% and African Americans 13.5%). Eight of the white youth lived with one parent (seven with mother), while 10 Native youth lived with one parent and 15 black youth did (12 of the 15 with mother). In all, 27 white youth lived with at least one biological parent, 21 Native youth did, and 24 black youth did. Five of the Native youth were in foster care or in group homes, and three of these had been in multiple placements. The same number of black youth were in non-family placements. Eight minority youth lived with their grandparents—four Native and four black youth; none of the white youth did. (See Table 8.) Of course, if the files had been complete we might have found a different distribution in family situations.

In this small sample, two differences between minority and white youth can be noted. Minority youth are considerably more likely than white youth to accumulate lengthy referral records and less likely to live in intact (two-parent) households. The files of all 33 cases with five or more referrals were reviewed to see if there was any information in them which might be used to explain the lengthy records. We began by examining the age of the youth at the first referral in the record and we compared these ages to the age of those with only one referral. Clearly, the older the child is at his or her first referral, the less time he or she was available to accumulate referrals before his or her eighteenth birthday, and the younger the child the more time available.

The mean age of white youth at the first referral (of five or more referrals) was 14, while the mean age at referral for those with only one referral was 14.35—not a substantial difference. The range for the multiple offenders was 12 to 16 and for single offenders, 10 to 17. The ten-year-old was a white female who stole Pepsi and cupcakes from a grocery store. Four of the single offense white youth were 17 years old. The mean age of single offense Native youth was 15.5, with a range of 11 to 17. Three of these juveniles were 17. This compares to a mean of 12 for Alaska

Native males referred five or more times and a mean of 13 for Alaska Native females referred five or more times. The range for Native youth was 5 to 15. The mean for black youth with at least five referrals was 13.5, while the mean for black males with a single referral was 15 and for black females nearly 15 (14.8 years). Four seventeen-year-olds and three sixteen-year-olds raised this mean. The range went down to 10 years. (The ten-year-old was charged with theft in the fourth degree for receiving a stolen soda at her grade school.)

**Table 8. Family Living Situation by Race and Gender**

	<b>Male</b>		<b>Female</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Alaska Native</b>						
2 biological parents	4	18.2 %	2	15.4 %	<b>6</b>	<b>17.1 %</b>
1 biological parent	9	40.9	4	30.8	<b>13</b>	<b>37.1</b>
Relative or friend	3	13.6	1	7.7	<b>4</b>	<b>11.4</b>
Foster home/group home/mixed	4	18.2	4	30.8	<b>8</b>	<b>22.9</b>
No information	2	9.1	2	15.4	<b>4</b>	<b>11.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>13</b>		<b>35</b>	
<b>African American</b>						
2 biological parents	2	7.4 %	3	30.0 %	<b>5</b>	<b>13.5 %</b>
1 biological parent	13	48.1	5	50.0	<b>18</b>	<b>48.6</b>
Relative or friend	7	25.9	1	10.0	<b>8</b>	<b>21.6</b>
Foster home/group home/mixed	3	11.1	1	10.0	<b>4</b>	<b>10.8</b>
No information	2	7.4	0	0.0	<b>2</b>	<b>5.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>37</b>	
<b>White</b>						
2 biological parents	7	30.4 %	8	47.1 %	<b>15</b>	<b>37.5 %</b>
1 biological parent	8	34.8	4	23.5	<b>12</b>	<b>30.0</b>
Relative or friend	1	4.3	0	0.0	<b>1</b>	<b>2.5</b>
Foster home/group home/mixed	0	0.0	0	0.0	<b>0</b>	<b>0.0</b>
No information	7	30.4	5	29.4	<b>12</b>	<b>30.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>		<b>17</b>		<b>40</b>	
<b>Total</b>						
2 biological parents	13	18.1 %	13	32.5 %	<b>26</b>	<b>23.2 %</b>
1 biological parent	30	41.7	13	32.5	<b>43</b>	<b>38.4</b>
Relative or friend	10	13.9	2	5.0	<b>13</b>	<b>11.6</b>
Foster home/group home/mixed	8	11.1	5	12.5	<b>12</b>	<b>10.7</b>
No information	11	15.3	7	17.5	<b>18</b>	<b>16.1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>112</b>	

The Alaska Natives who began their lengthy referral histories at age five and seven and nine are worthy of note. The five-year-old lived in a Native community. He was charged with concealment of merchandise for shoplifting a package of nuts worth \$.99. A month later with a friend he burned down a shed, causing \$400 in damage. At age nine he was charged with criminal trespass in the second degree for entering the village school through an unlocked back door. He and his friend played in the room but took nothing from it. At age 10, the boy was referred in connection with a missing/stolen bicycle, but there was nothing linking him to the theft and the charge was dismissed. His next referral was for minor in possession of alcohol at the age of 16.



Five children were involved but only one was drunk, and there was no evidence that he was drinking. At age 16 he was arrested for DWI and at 17 he was charged with criminal trespass. He was in a store from which he had been banned. Six months later, at age 17, he was arrested for driving with a suspended license.

The child who began his career at age 7 was charged the first time with breaking windows on a trailer in the village in which he lived. There was no incident report in the file, but the event was entered into the log. His next referral occurred when he was almost 16. He was intoxicated and charged with minor consuming alcohol. His mother was unable to come for him because she was intoxicated, so he was released to another relative. He was referred three more times for minor consuming—all in less than a year. At age 17, he was charged with criminal mischief in the third degree as well as minor consuming. He stole a snowmachine while drunk. He was referred to an alcohol program.

The Alaska Native girl whose history began at age 9 also lived in a Native village. She was initially referred for second degree burglary and criminal mischief. With a companion she entered a daycare center through an unlocked door. They did considerable damage to the premises and stole some dolls. Her record does not show another referral until age 15, when she was charged with underage drinking after being found staggering on the beach. She accumulated four more referrals, each including underage drinking. One involved a charge of DWI; another included assault in the fourth degree (she kicked a police officer). The other two were referrals for drinking only.

These three young people were not involved in threatening delinquent behavior. In two cases the youth had serious alcohol problems and resided in communities where alcohol use and abuse were viewed with considerable alarm. Local concerns may make law enforcement officials more likely to formally intervene in such cases. In Anchorage, where this behavior was often treated informally, there were relatively few referrals to DFYS for underage drinking.

Two other Native males were very young at their first referrals—one was eleven and the other twelve. Both lived in small villages and both were first referred for burglary. The younger of the two was referred for more burglaries, criminal mischief, assault (four counts), and probation violations. That he was intoxicated was mentioned only once in the file. The twelve-year-old began with a charge of burglary tied to the village store (the door was ajar but nothing was missing). He stole money from a teacher and was charged with theft. There was another burglary charge, two assault charges, and a referral for harassment (with a friend, he made

annoying phone calls to police). There was no mention of alcohol in his file. (See Appendix A for the records of males with multiple referrals.)

Only two more files of Native males had alcohol references. In one case, all five referrals were for Minor Consuming Alcohol. Another boy was referred several times for burglary and criminal mischief, but intoxication was mentioned only once in the file. In a third case, drinking was suspected but not proven. All referrals were for burglary, criminal mischief, and/or theft.

Theft, criminal mischief (vandalism), and burglary were common charges in the remaining files and fourth degree assault appeared in several files. One child was learning disabled, perhaps an example of fetal alcohol syndrome, and another appeared to be emotionally disturbed. There was one referral for misconduct involving a weapon, but this was the only charge involving possible danger to others. The vandalism was often very costly (e.g., slitting tires on all the cars in a one or two-block area), but it usually involved a group. The thefts and burglaries were usually quite minor (cigarettes, beer, candy, soda). The assaults were often fights.

One of the hypotheses mentioned earlier was that African American youth were referred for more serious behavior. Our examination of those with at least five referrals bears this out to some extent. Three of these youth were referred for the first time for burglary, one for a charge of vehicle tampering and theft, one for criminal mischief, two for misdemeanor assault, and the remainder for theft.

An examination of the three burglars is illustrative. The first, age 13, was charged with burglary after entering a house with some companions intending to steal a gun. In March, now 14, he was referred for criminal trespass: he had agreed to stay away from the community recreation center but kept returning, and police were called. Just two months later he was charged with theft for stealing cigars and a lighter from a grocery store. The following month he was charged with vandalism. He was with other young males on bicycles who were breaking into parked cars. In a matter of weeks he was trespassing at the recreation center again, and a month after that he was detained for violating his probation and released after two days. Two weeks later, in August, he was again shoplifting cigars. At the end of the month he was again detained for violating probation. He was adjudicated in court and placed in a group home at the end of September. In ten days he was charged with assault for threatening another resident with a knife. In November, still aged 14, he was institutionalized.

The second burglar's referral history began in November when, at 15, he entered a neighbor's house in an effort to help his co-defendant get his stereo back. He admitted to his involvement in

the plan and to taking a gun. He was referred for a second burglary committed just two days later but was found to not be involved, though his probation officer believed he knew about it. The following month he was charged with assault in the fourth degree and criminal trespass for threatening students and staff at after school bus loading. He and his co-defendant threatened to kill the teacher who tried to stop them. In January he was charged with misconduct involving weapons and theft when, in a burglary with an adult co-defendant, they broke into a sports store and stole cash and two rifles. (His mother turned in the one he kept.) Also in January he was referred for stealing snowmachines. That month he was petitioned on all the charges from the previous two months. In April he was referred for throwing rocks through the windows of school. In the following year he and his co-defendant started a fire in a school locker. A year later he was charged with theft.

The third burglar began his career in January, just about a month before his sixteenth birthday. He entered a residence with others and stole items and vandalized. He knew the daughter of the house and believed all had been invited in. He returned to help clean up broken eggs. His second referral was in June, when he was accused of involvement in an incident with several others who were attacking other youths with baseball bats. In November he was charged with criminal mischief when, with others, he set a fire in a laundromat. At 16, in February, he was charged with misconduct involving a controlled substance. The principal at his high school was suspicious and asked to search his locker; drugs and money were found and police called. In March he was charged with reckless endangerment for shooting a friend in the leg. He and the friend maintained it was accidental. In September he was a passenger in a stolen car and a gun was found under the driver's seat. This was a probation violation as well as a new charge. He was institutionalized and released from custody about 18 months later, just after his nineteenth birthday.

These three black juveniles caused a great deal of trouble and considerable expense. They also were involved in weapons violations, increasing their perceived dangerousness. Four other black repeat offenders had weapons violations among their subsequent referrals, and most included in their referral histories violent behavior or threats of violence. In one case the last referral was for murder.

A comparison with the three white males who had accumulated at least five referrals finds considerable differences.

One of the white habitual offenders began his referral history at age 11. He was charged with criminal mischief for spraying gang graffiti in company with his brother. A month later he stole a pizza and was referred to a shoplifting program. The next month the brothers were caught stealing car stereos and the subject also admitted to stealing a purse. He was referred again four months later for assault on a fellow junior high student (again in company with his brother). Four more referrals were based on charges of assault: one against his mother's boyfriend, one against a teacher at school, and one against a neighbor when he pointed a gun at him after being caught stealing from his van. At his last referral he was fourteen years old.

The second case began at age 15 with two referrals for underage drinking. The second also involved theft. The two next referrals were for criminal mischief, followed by a referral for violation of probation. The last referral was for theft—two months before the juvenile turned 18.

The third white youth accumulated nine referrals, the first for theft at age 14. This file includes two incidents prior to this which are notes rather than formal referrals. The boy left home threatening suicide and his mother called the police. The following day she saw him and tried to get him to go with her. He threatened her with a knife. Apparently some legal process occurred because he was next referred for violating a domestic violence order. He was next referred for shoplifting. He then left the state and returned. Eight months after the theft he was referred for misconduct involving a weapon (a BB gun) after police caught him and his friends throwing rocks at streetlights. Three weeks later he was caught driving a stolen vehicle; the next day referred for theft (shoes taken from a store); and a week after that for stealing from a grocery store. Six months later he was reported as a runaway. Almost two years later he was referred for disorderly conduct. At this point he was within two weeks of his eighteenth birthday.

The records of habitual offenders vary considerably by race. Alaska Native youth tend to accumulate referrals in villages for behavior which would very likely be ignored or resolved informally in a large city. The Natives whose records were accumulated in cities were less likely to be referred for alcohol violations, though their referrals for property offenses sometimes included consumption of alcohol.

African American boys who accumulated at least five referrals had referrals for assault and weapons violations as well as property offenses. Overall, their activities appear to have posed a greater danger to society than do the activities of the Alaska Native youth.

The white youth were quite different from one another. One was referred in a small town for liquor violations and minor theft; his record sounds as if it could be that of one of the Native

villagers. Another seemed to be involved in gang or gang “wannabe” behavior, and a third appeared to have been emotionally or mentally disturbed.

In virtually all of these cases, the youth’s home life was at least questionable, if not dysfunctional. The sixteen-year-old white drinker was on his own in a fishing town; both parents were out of state. The gang-involved boy lived with his mother and brother. His mother didn’t seem particularly concerned with his behavior, according to intake notes. He was in a residential psychiatric facility more than once.

The third boy also might have been involved in a gang. His father lived out of state. His mother refused to take him in after he threatened her. The police then took him to shelters after arrests. He was admitted to a psychiatric facility in Anchorage and to another in the lower 48. He was diagnosed at the psychiatric hospital as a sociopath destined for more criminal behavior.

The Alaska Native youth seemed to come from broken families where alcohol was a problem. Only two of these youth lived with both parents. Two lived with their fathers, the remainder with mothers and/or grandparents. Field notes in several files mentioned intoxicated parents (e.g., mother too drunk to come for him; all adults in home were intoxicated). One boy seemed to often be left with others while his mother was away, and referrals seemed correlated with her absence. Others were in group homes for some part of their referral histories. In one case the village tribal council said a youth could not return to the village (although he did). At least one had a sibling in jail and some had siblings as co-offenders.

The African American habitual offenders were all from cities (most from Anchorage) or, in one case, a growing community near Anchorage. That youth was living with a friend and did not know where his parents were, although he knew his father had been recently released from prison. Two other files noted jailed or imprisoned parents. Three of the youth lived with grandparents, but at least one of these was so out of control he was placed in shelters and group homes for much of the time covered in his referral history. Three of the black youth lived with aunts or aunts and uncles. In several files moves to the lower 48 to stay with other parents or relatives were noted. One of the African American boys (whose record reflected minimal “dangerousness”) was in multiple placements in Alaska, including: two foster homes, two mental health facilities, one temporary shelter, and one residential group home.

Clearly, the youths who accumulated several referrals did not have very stable living situations, and in some cases their homes could only be described as chaotic. In some cases parents and guardians refused to take the boy in; in two, the parent requested more severe

sanctions; in only one case was abuse by parents established in the file, but some of the files were not complete.

There were only ten females who accumulated at least five referrals. Eight were Alaska Native and two were white. These girls were in living situations which were just as chaotic as those of the boys. One Native girl lived with her father in a village; the others had less stable arrangements, moving from parental home to foster home or relative to group home. Some had numerous placements.

The child with the least stable home life lived with mother, father, grandparents, foster parents in a psychiatric facility, and in a residential group home. She began her referrals with a charge of Minor Consuming Alcohol. She next was referred for trespass when she went into a fast food restaurant from which she had previously been barred. She was next referred again for Minor Consuming Alcohol and then for misconduct involving a controlled substance. She was referred for driving her grandfather's car without his permission or a license. She was also referred for criminal trespass at the high school, from which she had also been barred. She accumulated six more referrals, including some probation violations and leaving placement (in a substance abuse program).

Another Native girl was referred nine times—five for Minor Consuming Alcohol, two for misconduct involving a controlled substance (she bought some marijuana at school and was later seen with a bong and a butane lighter).

Minor Consuming Alcohol featured prominently in the referral histories of three other Alaska Native females. Only one file contained no reference to alcohol; it included six referrals for theft and one for burglary. Another girl accumulated 13 referrals in a two-year period.

One of the white girls who had at least five referrals had a very chaotic living situation. Her mother asked the state to take her because she was so unmanageable. She did have several placements, and she was institutionalized at the training school. She continually ran away from home and appears to have been involved with an adult male who dealt cocaine. He may have been her pimp. Her referral record does not reflect prostitution, but includes several assaults, some on her mother, some on other girls. The record also includes misconduct involving a controlled substance, attempted escape, burglary, and theft.

The other white female had both parents in the home. She was referred three times for Minor Consuming Alcohol, twice in conjunction with other offenses. Her record included a theft, a

burglary, and criminal trespass. She was also referred for receiving, since she was suspected of receiving money which her brother stole.

No African American girls in the sample were referred five or more times. Only two white girls had numerous referrals. One girl had a long history of disturbed behavior prior to her involvement in criminal behavior; the other white girl had several charges for Minor Consuming Alcohol.

The Alaska Native girls who appeared in the five-or-more-referrals category could be differentiated by place of referral. Girls who lived in villages or small towns were more likely to accumulate referrals for Minor Consuming Alcohol than were urban-dwelling girls. Police priorities, visibility, and local concerns may play a role. Since all African American girls in the sample were from urban areas, this might explain the lack of alcohol-related referrals among them. Urban police have different priorities; city youth can drink in less visible settings and no city of size in Alaska is “dry.”

The referral locations of Alaska Native boys reflect the same regional variations. Six of the Alaska Native male habitual offenders were first referred from villages, and five of these six had alcohol referrals in their records. The remainder were referred in more urban areas and alcohol was not part of their referral histories.

## **Conclusions**

This examination of a small sample of youth referred to Youth Corrections in Alaska supports several of the hypotheses derived from a larger data set. Native youth accumulated alcohol-related referrals at a greater rate than either black or white youth, and these referrals were more likely to occur in rural than in urban settings. Youth who first came to the attention of authorities for Minor Consuming Alcohol appeared to be as likely to be white (N=7) as Native (N=8), but were not at all likely to be African American. In assessing any reference to alcohol in the file, we found more girls’ (N=18) than boys’ (N=13) files to have this notation.

This small random sample reflected the findings from the larger sample in that minority youth were more likely than white youth to accumulate a record. We found that more than half of the white youth in this sample had been referred only once and more than half the Native youth had been referred five or more times. For black youth distribution was more even, with 40.5 percent referred only once, 32.4 percent referred two to four times, and 27.0 percent referred at least five times.

The number of referrals was tied to age at first referral. Alaska Natives with extensive referral histories were referred for the first time at younger ages than either black or white youth. Among all youth with extensive records (defined for the purposes of this paper as those with five or more referrals), white youth had a mean age of 14, black youth, 13.5, and Native youth, 12.7. A substantial number of the young Native repeat offenders were first referred in small villages. This suggests that local priorities and high visibility, as well as the personal knowledge of offenders common in small communities, probably play a part in the accumulation of lengthy referral records.

Two interesting phenomena were observed from this small sample. First, intake officers appeared more likely to pursue information about family situations for minority youth. This was particularly true for African American youth; more than 90 percent of the files of these youth contained family information, and this was true regardless of number of offenses. At the same time, nearly a third of white youth did not have this information in their files.

The second phenomenon was that minority youth were much more likely than white youth to live with someone other than a biological parent. Only two white youth lived in non-parental homes, but six Alaska Native youth did, and eleven African American youth did. No white youth lived in foster or group homes or a combination of these and other placements, while five Native youth did and three black youth did. All eight of these juveniles appeared in the habitual offender category.

Even those repeat offenders who lived with family members had chaotic homes. Three had relatives in prison, several had alcoholic parents, several moved from mother to father to grandparents, aunts and uncles, and back again. Some of them left the state for these alternative living arrangements. Very few of the youth who accumulated at least five referrals had stable home lives and some quite clearly, had diagnosable emotional problems. Some may have suffered from fetal alcohol syndrome, though this diagnosis rarely appeared in the files.

It is not possible to extrapolate from so small a sample, so the findings regarding age and family associations with records are preliminary. They may, however, be instructive for future research into race and records at the juvenile level.



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## Appendix A: Referrals of Habitual Offenders (5 or more referrals)

### Alaska Native males

Case #	Age at first referral	Referral date	Charge	Case #	Age at first referral	Referral date	Charge
1	Age 14	Aug 1998	Minor Consuming Alcohol	7	Age 13	Feb 1994	burglary in the second degree, theft in the third degree
		Nov 1994	Minor Consuming Alcohol			May 1994	theft in the fourth degree
		Aug 1995	Minor Consuming Alcohol			Aug 1994	criminal mischief
		Oct 1995	Minor Consuming Alcohol			Nov 1995	criminal mischief
		Aug 1996	assault and misconduct involving a controlled substance			Jan 1996	theft in the second degree, criminal mischief, theft in the third degree
2	Age 7	Apr 1983	criminal mischief	8	Age 16	Sep 1992	theft in the fourth degree
		May 1994	Minor Consuming Alcohol			Nov 1992	possession of stolen property
		Jul 1994	Minor Consuming Alcohol			Nov 1992	trespass
		Oct 1994	Minor Consuming Alcohol			Feb 1993	misconduct involving a weapon
		Mar 1995	Minor Consuming Alcohol			May 1993	probation violation
3	Age 5	Jun 1995	criminal mischief, Minor Consuming Alcohol			Aug 1993	assault in the third degree
		May 1983	concealment of merchandise	9	Age 14	Mar 1994	probation violation
		Jul 1983	arson in the second degree			Jul 1994	domestic violence assault
		May 1987	criminal trespass			Apr 1993	criminal mischief, criminal trespass
		Jun 1988	found property			Dec 1994	misconduct involving a controlled substance in the sixth degree
4	Age 12	Jun 1994	Minor Consuming Alcohol			May 1996	sexual abuse of a minor
		Jul 1994	driving while intoxicated			May 1996	violation of domestic violence restraining order
		Nov 1994	criminal trespass	10	Age 16	Mar 1997	probation violation
		Jun 1995	driving with license suspended			Sep 1997	probation violation (warrant)
		Dec 1993	burglary in the second degree			Aug 1993	criminal mischief
5	Age 11	May 1946	theft in the third degree			May 1994	burglary in the first degree
		Oct 1994	assault in the fourth degree			Jun 1994	criminal trespass in the second degree
		Dec 1994	burglary in the first degree			Jul 1994	assault in the fourth degree
		Oct 1995	assault in the fourth degree			Sep 1994	probation violation (drug-related)
		Jun 1996	harrasment			Oct 1994	probation violation
6	Age 14	Aug 1991	burglary	11	Age 12	Feb 1993	criminal mischief
		Aug 1992	burglary, criminal mischief			Apr 1993	theft in the fourth degree, criminal trespass
		Feb 1993	probation violation			Apr 1993	theft in the fourth degree
		Feb 1993	burglary (institutionalized)			Apr 1993	burglary
		Jan 1995	burglary			Jun 1993	indecent exposure
7	Age 15	Feb 1995	assault in the fourth degree	12	Age 15	Jan 1995	criminal mischief
		Mar 1995	assault in the fourth degree, Minor Consuming Alcohol, reckless endangerment			Feb 1995	concealment of merchandise
		Nov 1995	assault in the fourth degree			Feb 1996	theft, Minor Consuming Alcohol
		Dec 1996	probation violation			Oct 1996	Minor Consuming Alcohol
		Jan 1994	criminal mischief			Jun 1995	theft in the fourth degree
8	Age 16	Apr 1994	burglary in the second degree, criminal mischief			Aug 1995	mother requests he be placed on probation
		Dec 1994	burglary in the second degree			May 1996	theft in the third degree
		Apr 1995	burglary in the second degree, criminal mischief, probation violation			Oct 1996	vehicle theft
		Sep 1996	burglary, theft, criminal mischief			Nov 1996	probation violation
		Dec 1996	probation violation			Dec 1996	warrant (left home without permission)

## African American males

Case	Age at first referral	Referral date	Charge	Case	Age at first referral	Referral date	Charge
1	Age 13	Feb 1993	assault in the fourth degree	6	Age 14	Aug 1994	theft in the fourth degree
		Apr 1993	criminal trespass			Oct 1994	criminal mischief in the fourth degree
		Apr 1993	assault in the fourth degree			Oct 1994	burglary in the first degree
		Jun 1994	criminal mischief in the third degree, theft in the third degree			Mar 1995	criminal mischief in the fourth degree
		Jun 1994	theft in the third degree			Apr 1995	probation violation
		Nov 1994	assault in the fourth degree			Apr 1995	probation violation
		Aug 1995	misconduct involving a controlled substance in the fourth degree			Jun 1995	probation violation (warrant, resisting arrest)
		Jan 1996	murder, assault, robbery			Aug 1995	false information
2	Age 16	Jan 1993	burglary, theft	7	Age 14	May 1996	escape
		Jun 1993	disorderly conduct			Feb 1993	theft in the third degree, vehicle tampering
		Nov 1993	criminal mischief			May 1993	theft in the third degree, misconduct involving a weapon
		Dec 1993	"incident" at shelter			Jul 1993	assault in the fourth degree
		Feb 1994	misconduct involving a controlled substance			Feb 1994	assault in the fourth degree, disorderly conduct
		Mar 1994	reckless endangerment			Sep 1994	robbery
		Sep 1994	criminal mischief in the fourth degree ( <i>institutionalized</i> )			May 1995	assault
		Feb 1994	theft in the fourth degree	8	Age 14	Jan 1994	criminal mischief in the fourth degree
3	Age 16	Aug 1994	assault in the fourth degree			Oct 1994	assault in the fourth degree
		Mar 1995	criminal mischief in the fourth degree, misconduct involving a controlled substance in the fourth degree, misconduct involving a weapon in the fifth degree			Oct 1994	assault in the third degree
		Apr 1995	cut bracelet (on electronic monitoring)			Dec 1994	assault in the fourth degree
		May 1996	misconduct involving a weapon in the second degree, misconduct involving a controlled substance in the third degree, misconduct involving a controlled substance in the fourth degree ( <i>institutionalized</i> )			Sep 1995	assault (in Washington state)
						Feb 1996	harassment, malicious mischief, resisting arrest (in Washington state)
						Jun 1996	probation violation
						Dec 1996	probation violation
						Feb 1997	assault
4	Age 13	Sep 1993	burglary	9	Age 15	Nov 1993	burglary in the first degree
		Mar 1994	criminal trespass			Nov 1993	misconduct involving a weapon in the third degree, theft in the third degree
		May 1994	theft in the fourth degree			Dec 1993	assault in the fourth degree, criminal trespass
		Jun 1994	criminal mischief			Jan 1994	theft, criminal trespass
		Jul 1994	criminal trespass			Jan 1994	failure to appear (warrant)
		Aug 1994	probation violation			Jan 1994	criminal mischief in the second degree
		Aug 1994	theft in the fourth degree			Feb 1994	burglary in the second degree
		Oct 1994	assault			Apr 1994	criminal mischief in the third degree
5	Age 12	Oct 1994	"incident" at shelter			Mar 1995	criminal mischief in the third degree, criminally negligent burning
		Jan 1994	theft in the fourth degree			Jul 1996	file closed, child emancipated
		Feb 1994	assault in the fourth degree			Aug 1996	theft in the second degree, misconduct involving a weapon in the third degree, warrant issued
		Dec 1994	misconduct involving a weapon (BB gun in school)	10	Age 12	Nov 1992	assault in the fourth degree
		Mar 1995	assault in the third degree			Jul 1994	driving without a license
		Jan 1996	theft in the fourth degree			Apr 1995	misconduct involving a weapon in the third degree
		Mar 1996	assault in the fourth degree			May 1996	theft in the second degree, burglary in the second degree
						Nov 1996	FTA – warrant issued
						Jan 1997	misconduct involving a weapon, reckless endangerment
						Jan 1997	robbery

## White males

Case	Age at first referral	Referral date	Charge
1	Age 13	Jul 1993	runaway
		Aug 1993	theft in the fourth degree
		Sep 1993	assault in the third degree
		Oct 1993	theft in the fourth degree (Oct 1993 – left state)
		May 1994	misconduct involving a weapon in the fifth degree
		Jun 1994	criminal mischief in the third degree
		Jun 1994	theft in the third degree
		Jun 1994	theft in the fourth degree
		Dec 1994	runaway
		Sep 1996	disorderly conduct
		Jul 1994	criminal mischief in the third degree
		Aug 1994	theft in the fourth degree
		Sep 1994	theft in the third degree
2	Age 12	Nov 1994	theft in the third degree
		Mar 1995	assault in the fourth degree
		Mar 1995	assault in the fourth degree
		Apr 1995	assault in the fourth degree
		Feb 1996	assault in the third degree
		May 1993	Minor Consuming Alcohol
		Jun 1994	theft in the fourth degree, Minor Consuming Alcohol
		Jun 1994	criminal mischief in the second degree
3	Age 16	Dec 1994	criminal mischief in the second degree
		Dec 1994	probation violation
		Mar 1996	theft in the third degree